Bella Coola Indians - Duplicate Chapter VII

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Chapter VI

MARRIAGE.

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the natural and normal condition of man. Any man or woman unwilling to marry would be considered mentally deficient. The relative number of the sexes is approximately equal, so that the ony persons forced to live alone are a few elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are considered to be unfortunate, in fact, to have failed in one of the most elementary of life's struggles. Man provides fish and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects berries, makes baskets, cooks and performs the multitudinous small household tasks ——— to the benefit of each to marry?"

"Is it not natural and proper that a man and woman should marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is ist sole function to regulate the realtions between the sexes. Probably its most important feature to the Bella Coola is that it governs the status of the child. Firmly believing that he has descended from ancestors who came to this earth in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forebears. This can only be accomplished with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that Bella Coola marriage is not regulated by affection, but by the ancestral suitability of the contracting parties.

Choice of Mate.

Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife from the masculine viewpoint, remembering that the converse govern the decision of the woman and her realtives. The Bella Coola regard the choice of a woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family as a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint. Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people

or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with a slaves. Instead it is a matter of pride for a man to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, or a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. The writer failed to learn any reason for these laws of incest; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or "dirty" so to marry, but have philosophized no further about the matter. An adopted child is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according to crests among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, as will be seen, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, what may be termed the same "crest."

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related to their son, or who are unsuited on account of their poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on other girls of approximately the same age as their son, The most desirable is a member of the ancestral family of ~~either his mother or his father~~, one of the parents. Not only does this obviate the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, but any children will be born into the close-knit circle of ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close in the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Moreover, such a related mating is desirable from the business standpoint. each ancestral family id jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives so that the members are unwilling to have some of these go afield and as some of these are transmitted at marriage, it follows that a mating within the ranks of the ancestral family is desirable from the business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more than the wife at marriage, and that her realtives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one with whom they are related. Indeed, some ancestral families are so "stingy" (to use the Bella Coola expresions) that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to marry, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common

Bella Coola marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin ~~if~~ when of suitable age. According to mythology, marraiges have sometimes take n place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marraiges have sometimes taken place between first cousins, alth ough the writer failed to learn any instances of this. As long as the laws of incest are obeyed, any girl of suitable age who is addressed as numao (1) is a fit partner. Since ancestral families have usually become localized in certain villages, it follows that there is a strong tendency to village endogamy, though this is not compulsory. It will be noticed that the restrictions on marriage are of a bi-lateral nature, and that the preferences are equally ~~bil~~ bi-lateral, with a tendency to become patrilineal, in accordance with the patrilineal tendency of the ancestral family as already described.

These considerations greatly restrict the choice of a suitable daughter-in-law, yet there always remain a number of possible women. The parents of the ~~young~~ prospective bride-groom consider the mat rial advantages of each of these. Since the ~~abi~~ ability of a man to give potlatches depends largely on the wealth contributed by his wife's immediate family, the wise parents eliminate a girl whose brothers are lazy. Moreover, they know that his children will receive prerogatives from their maternal grandparents, hence it is desirable to choose those who have valuable advantageous kusiut dances, or other desirable rights. Ancestral names are not so important, because these are the potential property of all mebers of the ancestral family. An important consideration is the industriousness of the girl herself, though this is less important than the working ability of her ~~relatives~~ father and brothers. The writer remembers discussing marriage with a very old man who had had four wives. After describing the idiosyncrasies of the four, the Indian continued:

"My last wife was by far the best. Her family gave me many presents."

Frequently the choice of a wife is simplified by the institution which may be termed "return marriage." If, for example, a few generations ago a woman was married into another ancestral family, or into a distant branch of her own, it is considered proper for a man of her family to receive as wife a woman of ~~her~~ the family into which she married. At the previous marriage the woman's family bestowed

much wealth and valuable xpxx prerogatives; it is proper that the latter should be returned to the ancestral family of their owners. Moreover, a return marriage binds two families together, with consequent strength to the children. A few examples will make the matter clear.

In the beginning of time it is believed that a son of Smao n married the daughter of a Kitlobe chief. (1). Sxxx As dower she brought her husband several Kitlobe names, which were transmitted in time to her children and which xxx remained in Smao n's home, Kimsquit, for many generations. The Bella Coola believe that the remembrance was preserved for xxxxx hundreds of years that these names were not Kimsquit names. Whenever one was conferred, the myth was recounted to tell how the name first came to Kimsquit, and in Kitlobe when the myth from which the names were taken was recounted, it was always added that the names in question could not be used since they now belonged in Kimsquit. About one hundred and fifty years ago a certain Kimsquit woman, Atsqutut̓ by name, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay this debt, and cement friendship between the two tribes. Similarly, if any portion of an ancestral myth, whether it be a name or any She took as dower the names long ago brought from Kitlobe. Similarly, if any name or other prerogative of an ancestral myth has been alienated from the fx ancestral family to which it belongs, a father searches for a woman who will be able to restore it to his son as marriage dower. The word used for searching is "hunt", the term used xx for seeking fur bearing animals.

The accompanying pedigree illustrates a return marriage. Qwahila's daughter was married to a Fort Rupert Indian and took with her as dower several Bella Coola names and other prerogatives. The loss of these was remembered and they were brought back by the marriage of Yakotl̓ s, a member of Qwahila's ancestral family, with a daughter of the woman who had gone to Fort Rupert. Usually several generations elapse before a return marriage is made. This incident was perfectly well known to the son of Yakotl̓ s.

Qwahila = ?
of Qomqo ts

Nukao s = Daughter
of Ft. Rupert

Yakotl̓ s = Daughter
of Qomqo ts

If parents who are seeking a wife for their son have also a daughter approaching marriageable age, they often try to avoid the question of later return marriage by arranging that their daughter shall be married to a brother, or other near relative, of their son's wife. Exchange marriage of this type was formerly more common than at present, though even now it is considered highly desirable. The sentiment is that already described: the more closely the parents of children are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be the child's ceremonial strength. Marriage of this type prevents the danger of feuds with respect to failure of return marriages.

In recent years it has become fashionable in some Bella Coola families to seek wives from unrelated ancestral families, and even from foreign tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by a Potlâs, an important chief who died about forty years ago. He sought foreign marriages on account of the prerogatives which were brought as dowers by his wives, and considered that such rights, which he was able to transmit to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by related ancestors. Many Bella Coola have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned the endogamic tendency. Although this exogamic principle is directly contrary to that which has been already described, yet it should be noted that each has the same explanation —— the search for a wife able to bring most to her as yet unborn children. Boas (1) has made the same observation.

Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for their son, then her economic value is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable a'nok prerogatives, a third some kusiut rites. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. One Indian had heard of the French system of dot, and emphasized strongly to the writer how far superior and more sensible such a system was than the Canadian practice. In recent years the younger Bella Coola have been arranging their own marriages, and the older men lament bitterly that they are only influenced by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

~~Finally, parents consider the desirability of the girl herself.~~

Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their future daughter-in-law, yet they are not entirely oblivious to the girl herself. She must be of approximately the same age as their son, preferably a year or two older. Should the wife be the younger, it is thought that she ages rapidly until she appears as old as her husband. Boys usually marry at the age of about seventeen or eighteen, and it is essential that the woman chosen for wife should have been concealed at least for a year following puberty. Nor would a weakly girl be chosen, or one of notoriously bad temper. As their son reaches the age of marriage, his parents usually consult him, though it is not usual for him to gainsay their wishes. In like fashion a girl has considerable influence in rejecting an unwelcome suitor, and her parents try to insure that he is not impotent. Occasionally it happens that a boy and girl elope in spite of their parents wishes, in which case the children would be without status in the community unless the parents agree to perform the rites that usually take place during the period of engagement, or at the actual wedding. A girl who has been leading a notoriously lax life is not desired, though this is most unusual for the daughter of a chief. The feeling is that such a girl would be a faithless and fickle wife, rather than any objection to her sins as such.

Realizing the importance of marriage, the parents of a boy discuss and plan the event for years, weighing the relative values of girls whom they think they could obtain for their son. By the time he has reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, they have decided on the most suitable partner, and it then becomes necessary to consult her parents and win their approval.

Period of Engagement.

~~The father of the prospective bridegroom, whom it will be convenient to design-~~
~~as X., may either interview the~~ The father of the prospective bride-groom, aided by the mother, and other immediate relatives have decided on a suitable partner for his son (whom it will be convenient to call X. in this section) he may either

Period of Engagement.

When the parents of the young man (whom it will be convenient to term X. in this section) have at last decided on a suitable partner, they must next choose a suitable intermediary for the first proposal. In all these discussions the elderly relatives of the parents take a leading part, especially their parents if alive. Sometimes ~~the~~ X.'s father himself interviews the father of the girl (whom it will be convenient to term Y. in thissection), at other times he asks some friend to do so. The matter is not supposed to be generally known, and the intermediary goes quietly to Y.'s father's house, and quietly tells Y.'s parents that X.'s family would like their daughter to become X's wife. This preliminary asking is done unostentatiously, at any time and in any place, and the messenger withdraws after giving his message. In all probability Y.'s family have already received information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and didcuss the proposal for several days. Her parents and their relatives take part in the discussion, and Y. herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practice she exercises a great deal of influence. There are no definite rules as to the number of relatives consulted, nor does this depend on their exact realtionship.

If Y.'s relatives agree to the proposal some one of them informs the intermediary of X.'s father, and the two are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known. X.'s relatives as soon as possible take a number of presents to Y.'s family. These are given in private, and are termed "secret gifts." Since no witnesses are present, it follows that no social prestige ~~xxxxxxx~~ accrues from the transaction. It must be emphasized that that the relatives included in the "family" of either ~~xxxxx~~ X. or Y. are not always the same. ~~Xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes most distant reltaives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of ~~xxxx~~ receiving valuable gifts, or to obtain social influence by lavish giving. If X.'s relatives have reason to believe that Y.'s family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actuall carry the "secret gifts" to Y.'s house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be

rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity has been hurt.

The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X. and Y., it is next necessary to make this public. X.'s father may take advantage of a kusiut dance, potlatch, or any other ceremony when guests have assembled for the announcement, but if none should take place within a few days, he is expected to summon his fellow-villagers to his house. If his supplies of food are limited, only chiefs who seat themselves without deference to rank, are invited, otherwise all and sundry. X.'s and Y.'s fathers make speeches describing the fame of their ancestors, and how they are to be bound even more closely together by an event which is to take place — the marriage of X. and Y. The guests express polite surprise. The singers, who are in attendance as usual but a few days elapse before this is made public. If X'.s family is wealthy, his father presently invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. The singers, who are in their usual stations behind the fire, strike up the tune of a xe kusiut and the owner of the song, thus warned, dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the singers proceed to beat out the time for kusiut and after kusiut, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the tune of a sack after a sack, and in time to the music the member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings are present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with X. as to the number of songs to be used. When they at last stop, X. , aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, in fact, the sole point of the rite is that it gives X. an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief. Further, it indirectly increases the importance of the marriage, because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it.

If X. is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own discretion as to the number of such entertainments, but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"To-morrow we shall go to Y.'s father's house."

If X. does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the

dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a kusiut dance, the or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, and consequently the importance of the children who may result from it is greater.

On the morning after this announcement X. calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the marraige agreement. These include as many of his relatives, and those of his wife, as he desires, and often intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X., in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y.'s relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability is glad t of this opportunity to demonstrate it, but a poor man can decline without loss of social esteem.

Carrying presents, although their specific value is immaterial, they set out for Y.'s house. Y., accompanied his his relatives, has been warned and is waiting at the door. A herald, or other eloquent speaker, addresses them on behalf of X.'s father:

"We do not come secretly or wrongfully to steal something from you. We come with the loftiest intentions. Great i our affection for your child. What we are about to do has long been a practice of our two families (1), let us do according to our wishes. I am the opening." (2).

Then X.'s father throws on the gr und beside the door several stones, representing slaves who will later be given to Y.'s relatives. These are said to "open the door", that is,to make clear the entrance of X. and his rela'ives into Y.'s house. There is the added significance that they open a clear passage for the children whom it is hoped will result from the marriage. This thought finds expression in many rites both during engagement and at the wedding ceremony itself. After throwing the stones, X.'s father gives gifts to Y., to her father, her mother, and her otherrelatives there assembled. These are of very

(1). If the two families have intermarried in past generations.
(2). Opening, ek l wad'ut. This is the term applied to the whole ceremony at Y.'s house. It has a double significance, as opening the way for the marriage, and likewise clearing the path for the future children.

great value, so great that X. sometimes k almost impoverishes himself. But he knows that though these will never actually be returned, yet it will be a matter of pride to Y.'s family to uphold their dignity, and the importance of Y., byt equally lavish givings.

Y.'s father now inv tes his guests to enter his house, and seats them according to their duly validated seats. Food has been prepared, and this is now served with all solemnity in the usual food-boxes. Then Y.'s family give presents to X.'s family, that is to all who have come to share in the marriage. These goods are known as "working clothes"; they are usually of less value than the presents just given by X.'s relatives, though occasionally they may exceed them. Y.'s father, or a herald or eloquent friend on his behalf, makes a speech to the following effect:

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that ~~him~~ X., and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y.'s father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly ratified. X. and his followers now leave Y.'s house. It is immaterial whether or not X. and Y. themselves have been present. It is important that this formal ratification of the engagement should take place during the day, as otherwise ~~it~~ any children resulting from the marriage could be shamed by having it said to them:

"Your parents were not married in the open light of day."

For a varying length of time X. now acts almost as a s rvant to Y.'s father. her family,
He does not live with them, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever ~~H~~ a member of X.'s family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y.'s relatives. If it is impossible to give any ceremony, X.'s father is at least expected to invite Y.'s family to ceremonial feats, and also to share with them any game that he may kill. Meanwhile, X. and Y. do not observe any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should hold intercourse it would "spoil" the engagement, but in most cases when this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. The longer the period of engagement, the It is felt that a long engagement is proper, since it gives strength to the resultant children.

for whom the way is clear through life.
No particular period of time is necessary; ~~in~~ if X. and Y. are the children of very great chiefs, their engagement may be announced while still small children, though this is not usually done until a few years after puberty. Then the period of waiting is about two years

The offspring of children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life has been ~~mxx~~ prepared for with careful thought and due ceremony, their limbs are clear to travel with success the path of life to the position of chief. When such a child is born the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to confer a name soon after birth, and the infant starts with an advantage in the complicated struggle of life. There is no specific ~~time~~ period for engagement; if X. and ~~by~~ Y. are the children of very influential chiefs, they preliminary agreement may have been made while they were still only seven or eight years old, though the actual marriage never occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when ~~they~~ X. and Y. have passed the age of puberty, and they then wait for about two years before marrying.

As has been said, throughout this period, X. is expected to give at least feats at which Y.'s relatives are the guests of honour. At one of these X.'s father may mark his approval of the coming event by bestowing on Y.'s father, or one of her other relations, one of the ancestral names embodied in his family myth. In such a case the presentation is always agreed to by all the members of X.'s family. A name so bestowed does not become the absolute property of Y.'s family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y.'s children, and returned to X.'s family a few generations later by the institution of return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the name ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ is apt to be regarded by Y.'s family as their own. A common source of trouble is when there are no children. Then Y.'s relatives should return the name to X.'s family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by their failure to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may sometimes be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed the the people of the

Kimsquit River have through such a present, the inalienable right to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have the inalienable right to the Kimsquit name ~~xx~~ Stalt ~~xx~~. These two preroagtives were transferred at the beginning of time. (1). At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-minded, in fact, it would be virtually impossible since the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. ~~&~~ It is considerations of this sort that make it so desirable to seek a wife from within the ranks of the ancestral family.

Likewise, during the period of engagement, Y.'s father may give a name, or names to X.~~'~~s father, with the sae conditions as those just described. It must be borne in mind that the giving of times at this time is not obligatory, nor does it affect the validity of the coming marriage, it is merely a mark of friendly feelings between the two groups of relatives, and adds to the importance of the event, and thus increaes the potential strength of the children~~xx~~ as yet unborn.

If either X. or Y. should die during the period of engagement, the presents, or their eqivalent, must be returned to the donors. ~~Thxxxxxx~~ No judicial methods are employed to effect this, but the force of public opinion is always sufficiently strong to compel a chief to do that which is proper, since otherwise he would lose much of his prestige. If Y. should die, an effort is made to ~~fixxxx~~ replace her with a sister, ~~or~~ cousin, or other near relative, so that the friendly relations entered upon ~~axx~~ by the two families may not be wasted. The presents mutually given by the two families may be returned and re-donated or, more simply, the substitute merely takes Y.'s place without further arrangement. Sometimes, in spite of the wishes of their parents and the elaborate rites carried out, either X. or Y. breaks the engagement by going to live with somebody else. It is then a mark of pride for the family of the offender to return the gifts they have received, and almost equally a mark of honour for the aggrieved part to reurn the present they have received, in order to demonstarte how little value they put to the possession of goods.

Desirable though it is to have a lengthy engagement, it is often necessary to curtail this. If, for example, one of X.'s relatives should die during the period of

engagement, Y.'s father may suggest a speedy marriage ceremony. He knows that X.'s family will have heavy expenses in connection with the burial and mourning rites, hence it is a courtesy to offer a quick marriage with the financial advantages accruing to them at the actual ceremony. In this case X. either does not work at all for Y.'s family, or only for a short period. Moreover, if Y. reaches marriageable age without her father receiving suitable proposals, he can himself take the initiative by consulting the parents of an eligible young man. If the suggestion is agreeable, the engagement is announced in the manner already described, and the marriage takes place as soon as possible. Though strictly legal, and commonly practised even long ago, this is not considered a desirable preliminary since the children lack the strength which would have been theirs if their parents had been long engaged. In recent years the custom of short engagements has become fashionable, until the older Bella Coola feel, and resent, that the woman is simply bought by the payment of goods or money at the actual wedding. The fact that such sums are returned in due course does not alter the fact that the woman has been obtained without the lengthy period of engagement. A few years ago a powerful chief even "bought" husbands for his granddaughters. His influence was so great that by bestowing large sums on the families of the young men they accepted the young women as wives. The girls in question were desirable in every way, according to Bella Coola standards, but by marrying without a long engagement and the giving of suitable presents the husbands, and their families, failed to live up to the dignity of their ancestry. These are only breakings down of the ancient rites, and as such are lamented by the older Indians.

Sometimes, despite the wishes of their parents, a boy and girl decide that they wish to marry and announce their intention by living together. After much storming the parents usually decide to make the best of a bad business by performing, and by lavish expenditure on them to the marriage rites as soon as possible, lessen the impediment palced against the unborn children by lack of long engagement of their parents. It will thus be seen the marriage ceremony must be carried out irrespective of whether it has been preceded by a lengthy period of engagement in which the first proposal was made by the boy's family, by a shorter period in which the girl's family

took the initiative, or by no period of engagement whatever. These rites can now be described.

Marriage Rites.

Y.'s family make the decision as to when the period of engagement shall be terminated. Although it is considered undignified for X. or his relatives to attempt to hurry them in this matter, yet unquestionably there is always a certain amount of urging. Y.'s father has two strong rwasons for procrastination. In the first place A laong engagement strengthens the status of the children whom his daughter may bear, and besides he frequently receives presents from X.'s relatives. Moreover, Y.'s relatives will bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, so that it is sometimes necessary for them to delay this for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take place at any time of year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X.'s and Y.'s village are present. Of course if the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends take part in the ceremony. When Y.'s relatives decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day with X.'s family, though the assumption is that Y.'s father merely informs X.'s father that they are ready for a certain date.

It is incumbent on X.'s family to announce the event on the day preceding the ceremony. In the later afternoon he sends a herald through the village calling out:

"Qwim n, ye chiefs! Qwim n, ye wives of chiefs! Qwim n, ye commoners!"

The meaning of qwim n is unknown, though its significance is well understood, that is, that it is an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the announcement, X.'s ancestral name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy that at marriage the guests, as well as the participants are called by the ancestral names, as opposed to their kusiut name by which an individual who has one is generally known. Red coloring is much in vogue at weddings; the herald smears his face with red paint, and the guests similarly tint themselves, and also wear collars, and wristlets and anklets of dyed cedar-bark.

In the gathering dusk all assemble in X.'s house; Y.'s relatives sometimes attend and sometimes do not. X.'s father would feel insulted in anyone should fail to